

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

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R 021413Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 756

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 0011

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP

SUBJECT: FRANCO'S TRADITIONAL END OF YEAR MESSAGE TO SPANISH PEOPLE

REF A. A-004 OF JAN 10, 1974; B. MADRID 012

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN TELEVISED ANNUAL END OF YEAR MESSAGE DEC 30 FRANCO DESCRIBED 1974 AS DIFFICULT YEAR WHICH HAD NONETHELESS PROVED HOW EFFECTIVE EXISTING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAD BECOME. HE PRAISED PRINCE JUAN CARLOS FOR HIS "POLITICAL PRUDENCE", ESPECIALLY DURING TIME OF HIS ASSUMPTION OF POWERS AS HEAD OF STATE DURING HIS SUMMER ILLNESS. HE SAID THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER CONSOLIDATING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WAS ALSO ENHANCED BY ADOPTION OF STATUTE OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. FRANCO DESCRIBED WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AS WORST OF MODERN TIMES SAYING IT  
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WOULD PROBABLY BE LONG AND FAR-REACHING. WORLD,

THEREFORE, WAS THREATENED BY INCREASED POLITICAL INSECURITY WHICH WAS MANIFEST IN THE WAVE OF TERRORISM. FRANCO URGED SPANIARDS TO MAINTAIN UNITY AND SPANISH YOUTH ITS DYNAMISM AND ITS "REASONABLE NON-CONFORMISM" IN SERVICE OF THE FATHERLAND. HE MADE NO MENTION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, CHURCH AFFAIRS, OR THE ARMED FORCES. DESPITE HIS SUMMER ILLNESS, HE GAVE IMPRESSION OF VIGOR WITH CLEARER AND MORE DISTINCT VOICE THAN ONE YEAR AGO.  
END SUMMARY.

2. FRANCO DELIVERED HIS CUSTOMARY YEAR-END SPEECH AT DEC 30 ON TV AND RADIO. FOLLOWING PATTERN SET AT END OF 1973, SPEECH WAS BRIEF, LASTING HARDLY 8 MINUTES (REF A AND B). IT WAS DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO NATIONAL AFFAIRS, IN PARTICULAR THE OVERRIDING NEED TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL UNITY AND TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. UNLIKE PAST OCCASIONS, FOREIGN AFFAIRS WERE MENTIONED ONLY OBLIQUELY IN SINGLE BRIEF REFERENCE TO CONTINUING EXTERNAL HOSTILITY TO HIS REGIME. SPEECH WAS CARRIED BY FBIS 1497 3650309 DATED DEC 31.

3. FRANCO DESIRED 1974 AS A DIFFICULT YEAR FOR EVERY ONE, ALTHOUGH SPANIARDS HAD OPPORTUNITY TO SEE HOW THEIR INSTITUTIONS WERE GAINING STRENGTH AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, CONFIRMING THEREBY THE TRUST PLACED BY THE SPANISH PEOPLE IN THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE STATE. MATURITY OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE, HE SAID, WAS ALSO TESTED AGAIN DURING HIS OWN ILLNESS WHEN THE PROVISIONS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS FUNCTIONED SMOOTHLY. FRANCO THEN PRAISED PRINCE JUAN CARLOS FOR HIS EFFECTIVENESS IN ASSUMING THE HEADSHIP OF STATE DURING HIS ILLNESS, CITING PARTICULARLY HIS "PERSONAL QUALITIES" HIS POLITICAL PRUDENCE, HIS PREPARATION, AND ABOVE ALL HIS SENSE OF DUTY". SPAIN, HE SAID, HAD OVER THE DECADES CREATED A "STATE OF LAW" AND THE CORTES, AS THE NATION'S LAWMAKER, WAS WORKING FULL TIME IN ADOPTING IMPORTANT NEW LAWS.

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4. FRANCO SAID POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS COULD NOT MEAN "RUPTURE" BUT RATHER A REAFFIRMATION OF THE VITALITY AND PROMISE IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. MOVEMENT AND SPAIN'S INSTITUTIONS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT "STATIC SYSTEMS" BUT WERE OPEN AND DYNAMIC, "WITH A CAPACITY FOR INNOVATION." FRANCO THEN REFERRED TO THE RECENT ADOPTION OF A STATUTE ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A NEW AND

PROMISING OPPORTUNITY TO "ALL SPANIARDS OF GOOD AND CLEAR INTENTIONS" AN OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

5. FRANCO DESCRIBED THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE WORLD AS THE "MOST SERIOUS WHICH WORLD HAS UNDERGONE IN MODERN TIMES" ADDING THAT IT WOULD "SURELY BE LONG AND FAR-REACHING". "NEVER HAS THE WORLD BEEN MORE THREATENED BY THE DANGER OF POLITICAL INSECURITY". CRISIS ALSO REVEALED ABSENCE OF "INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY" AND "ACHILLES HEEL OF MANY HIGHLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES." HE SAID GOS HAD TAKEN APPROPRIATE STEPS TO COPE WITH ECONOMIC CRISIS AND HAD, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, MAINTAINED FULL EMPLOYMENT AND HAD SUCCEEDED IN MAINTAINING MORE THAN ACCEPTABLE RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, "EVEN AT THE COST OF SUPPORTING AN INFLATION WHICH, ALTHOUGH INFERIOR TO OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, HAD REACHED HIGHER THAN DESIREABLE LEVELS." FRANCO SAID THAT "SOCIAL CONFLICTS" (I.E. STRIKES) HAD BEEN FOMENTED BY "AGENTS OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION" BUT THAT NATION HAD BEHAVED IN EXEMPLARY MANNER.

6. FRANCO REFERRED TO THE ESCALATION OF TERRORISM IN THE WORLD, SAYING THAT SPAIN HAD ALSO BEEN AFFECTED BY A WAVE OF VIOLENCE ALBEIT IN A SMALLER DEGREE. IN THIS CONNECTION HE PAID TRIBUTE TO THE FORCES OF PUBLIC ORDER WHO MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR SPANIARDS TO CONTINUE ENJOYING INTERNAL PEACE.

7. FRANCO DEVOTED MAIN SECTION OF HIS SPEECH TO "ALL-IMPORTANT ISSUE OF MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL UNITY." HE SAID THAT SPANISH COMMUNITY SUFFERED FROM TIME TO TIME FROM "INEXPLICABLE ANTAGONISMS IN NATIONAL LIFE".  
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IT WAS NECESSARY, HE SAID, TO MAINTAIN FAITH IN THE DESTINY OF A UNITED COUNTRY PRESERVING THE RICHNESS OF ITS REGIONAL DIVERSITY WITH A ZEAL FOR IMPROVEMENT, "WITHOUT ANY AID WHICH WE HAVE NOT ASKED NOR ARE GOING TO ACCEPT IN OUR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT." FRANCO SAID THAT SPAIN WAS STILL SUFFERING "EFFECTS OF A LONG-TERM FOREIGN HOSTILITY, FED BY THOSE WHO SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED TO ACCEPT WHAT THEY SEE AND THOSE WHO CANNOT PARDON OUR PROGRESS AND OUR PEACE." AT CONCLUSION FRANCO APPEALED SPECIFICALLY TO SPANISH YOUTH ASKING THAT THEY MAINTAIN THEIR DYNAMISM AND "REASONABLE NON-CONFORMISM CHanneled IN THE BEST OF SERVICE OF THE FATHERLAND."

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 757

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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8. COMMENT: CONTRARY TO HIS PRACTICE A YEAR EARLIER, FRANCO DELIVERED HIS PRETAPED SPEECH IN A STANDING POSITION AND FREQUENTLY USED HIS ARMS TO EMPHASIZE POINTS. THIS YEAR HIS VOICE WAS CLEAR AND HIS ARTICULATION DISTINCT AND HIS VOICE SEEMED TO HAVE MORE VIGOR THAN A YEAR EARLIER. ALTHOUGH HE DEFINITELY SHOWS HIS YEARS (82), THE OVERALL IMPRESSION AT THE END OF 1974 IS THAT PHYSICALLY HE IS NO WEAKER AND PERHAPS EVEN MORE VIGOROUS THAN AT THE END OF 1973, DESPITE HIS SERIOUS MID-1974 ILLNESS. THE EXPLANATION MAY LIE IN THE FACT THAT A YEAR AGO FRANCO HAD JUST GONE THROUGH ONE OF THE MORE TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES IN HIS POLITICAL CAREER WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF CARRERO BLANCO DEC 20 AND ITS SEQUEL. THERE WAS A GRIMNESS ABOUT HIS APPEARANCE AT THE END OF 1973 WHICH WAS NOT PRESENT AT THE END OF 1974. INDEED FRANCO ENDED HIS SPEECH WITH A NEW

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YEAR'S GREETING AND A RARE SMILE.

9. FRANCO'S REFERENCE TO THE PRINCE RECALLS HIS EARLIER REFERENCE AT THE END OF 1973 TO JUAN CARLOS' "DISCRETION AND PRUDENCE." THESE ARE THE WATCHWORDS USED BY FRANCO, PREMIER ARIAS AND OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS WHENEVER THEY REFER TO THE MOST IMPORTANT QUALITIES OF THE PRINCE, AS IF THEY EXPECTED HIM TO LIVE UP TO THESE KEY VIRTUES. CONTRARY TO HIS EARLIER PRACTICE, FRANCO DID NOT MENTION THAT HE INTENDED TO STAY AT THE HELM AS HE HAD PROMISED IN HIS YEAR-END SPEECHES THROUGH 1973. THIS COULD POSSIBLY FEED SPECULATION THAT FRANCO MAY WANT TO TRANSFER HIS POWERS AS HEAD OF STATE TO PRINCE JUAN CARLOS IN THE COMING YEAR. THIS HAS OFTEN BEEN MENTIONED AS A POSSIBILITY SINCE HIS ILLNESS LAST SUMMERO BUT MOST POLITICIANS DISCOUNTED IT, MUCH AS THE MORE LIBERAL ONES WOULD PREFER IT. FRANCO'S DEMEANOR AND APPEARANCE DURING ADDRESS WERE HARDLY THOSE OF MAN WHO FEELS HIS GRIP SLIPPING. ALTHOUGH FRANCO HAD GOOD REASON TO MENTION CARRERO BLANCO IN HIS 1973 YEAR-END SPEECH, HIS FAILURE TO MENTION ARIAS ON HIS FIRST ANNIVERSARY AS PREMIER COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A SIGN THAT FRANCO'S SUPGDRT FOR HIM IS CONDITIONAL OR AT LEAST AS AN INDICATION THAT FRANCO HIMSELF WANTED TO SHOW WHO IS IN CHARGE.

10. FRANCO'S REFERENCE TO THE SOLIDITY AND GROWING EFFECTIVENESS OF SPAIN'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PAST THREE YEARS REFLECT THE REGIME'S CONTINUING CONCERN THAT SPANIARDS BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO THE NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS IN ANTICIPATION OF FRANCO'S EVENTUAL DEMISE. THE LAWS HAVE INDEED FUNCTIONED WELL AS LONG AS FRANCE HAS BEEN ALIVE, BUT MANY PEOPLE WONDER HOW WELL THEY WILL FUNCTION ONCE HE IS GONE. THE ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO CHURCH AFFAIRS SINCE 1972 IS SIGNIFICANT. THERE HAVE BEEN UPS AND DOWNS IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, AND BROAD SEGMENTS OF SPANIARDS SEEM TO BE INCREASINGLY CONVINCED THAT THERE SHOULD BE A DIVISION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE. MOREOVER, BOTH

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CHURCH AND STATE SEEM TO HAVE DECIDED THAT IT IS IN THEIR MUTUAL INTEREST, BUT ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY FINDING A MUTUALLY SATISFACORY FORMULA.

11. IN A SPEECH CHARACTERIZED IN MANY WAYS BY AN ACCENT ON THE NEED FOR NATIONAL UNITY IT IS NOTEWORTH THAT FRANCO FAILED TO MENTION THE ARMED FORCES. IN HIS 1973 YEAR-END SPEECH HE DESCRIBED THE ARMED FORCES AS "A SOLID PILLAR OF UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE." IN RECENT WEEK PRINCE JUAN CARLOS AND MILITARY LEADERS HAVE FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO THE ARMED FORCES AS THE PERSONIFICATION OF THE BEST VIRTUES OF SPANISH NATIONAL CHARACTER.

12. THE ACCENT ON NATIONAL UNITY, THE REFERENCE TO REMNANTS OF EXTERNAL OSTRACISM OF SPAIN AND TO THE ABSENCE OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN A WORLD CONFRONTED BY A SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS, AND, FRANCO'S REFUSAL TO TAKE ADVICE ON SPAIN'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ADD UP TO A NATIONALISTIC APPEAL REMINISCENT OF HIS APPEAL TO SPANIARDS IN 1945-46 TO STAND TOGETHER AGAINST A HOSTILE WORLD COMMUNITY. THE APPEAL WAS EFFECTIVE THEN AND MAY STILL HAVE SOME PUNCH TODAY, PARTICULARLY AMONG ELEMENTS PRONE TO LOOK FOR EXTERNAL SCAPEGOATS FOR CURRENT PROBLEMS.  
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## Message Attributes

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